l: Karsten--46 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
756 (1928-29)

"This was Shaua's 'official' opinion of our visit. His real estimate of the Achuares appeared to be somewhat different when on the return journey we were discussing our impressions of the visit. My Canelos Indians had consented to accompany me to these savages of bad repute chiefly because they had combined certain business interests with the visit. The Canelos Indians have developed the making of drums into a real industry, whereas the Achuares are particularly skilled in making blowguns. Shaua had taken with him two drums of his own make for the sake of bartering with the Achuares. In his own opinion however, he had made a very bad bargain and with vehement gestures and curses gave vent to his discontent with our hosts on account of their greed. However this may have been, I knew that my Indian companion had done good business in another way: he had appeared among the Achuares as a medicine-man and had had several patients, and since such services are among the Indians paid just as scrupulously as a physician is paid by his patients in a civilized society, I understand that the visit had in fact been quite remunerative to him. Instead of the two drums he had taken with him, he returned with four blowguns, although one blowgun is generally paid for with one drum."

2: Stirling--50[2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 721, 756

"The following information regarding war practices and the preparation of tsantsas was obtained directly from Anguasha, a veteran warrior of the Yaupe River who had participated in many raids. While this description may be said to apply particularly to the Yaupe group of Jivaros, it may be regarded as typical of the whole Jivaro territory, save for minor details.

When a man dies or when he is seriously ill the shaman of his group takes natima. (70) While under the influence of the narcotic the source of the man's illness is revealed to him. Then, in the event that death occurs, a raid is made upon the house in which the offending shaman lives."

"70. Banisteria caapi."

2: Stirling--53 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 756, 726

"When the wishinu has decided that the proper time has arrived for the fight, those intending to participate are notified. The day before they leave, the curaka takes natima. While under its influence the spirits speak to him and give him advice calculated to help in the combat. In the event that the curaka is too old to fight, or is sick, he names the most able fighter in his group to act in his place as a war leader."

2: Stirling--115[2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 756, 774

"The practice of shamanism among the Jivaro Indians is basically conditioned by their religious beliefs and conceptions of life and nature. The impersonal magical force which gives supernatural properties to certain classes of animals, plants, or natural phenomena is called by the Jivaros tsarutama, more or less the equivalent of the Iroquois orenda, the Siouan wakonda, or the Polynesian mana. Possessing this force or quality are a large group of spirits, usually of an animistic nature, as well as all of the animals and plants which are mentioned in the sacred origin myth. Certain birds, fish, insects, reptiles, and plants contain tsarutama, each of which is responsible for producing certain important effects upon the welfare of man."

2: Stirling--115[3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 756, 726

"In time of war an attacking party always attempts to kill the shaman or wishinu of their enemies as early in the fight as possible, so as to free themselves from possible injury by the spirits which he controls."

2: Stirling--115 [4]
116, 756, 577

(1930-1931) 1938

Jivaro

"Not only is the wishinu respected for the power which he wields, but he is likely also to be the wealthiest man of his group, because of the high prices which he charges for his services in curing. He may also draw pay for sending sickness for someone who desires revenge upon another person. There can be no doubt that the wishinu believes in his powers. He is thoroughly conscientious as a practitioner and spends many long sleepless nights working with his patients. He is regulated by a code of ethics whereby he will respond to a call however inconvenient it may be for him to do so. This conscientiousness may be partly determined by the fact that the wishinu is held personally responsible in the event his patient dies, and being so responsible, is liable to either compensation or blood revenge. As a curing doctor, it is the task of the wishinu to identify the particular spirit which has invaded his patient and then, through his knowledge of the method of controlling this spirit, to call it forth."

2: Stirling--117 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 756

"To illustrate the manner by which a man becomes a shaman and how he performs his many duties, the experiences of Tendetsa, a prominent wishinu of the Yaupe River, are related (pl. 22, b). Tendetsa first determined to become a wishinu through his interest in watching others operate in curing the sick. It so happened that among his relatives there was not one to look after those who became ill and he felt a desire to perform this service.

After making up his mind that he would attempt to become a wishinu, he went to consult Usatcho, an old wishinu of the Yaupe tribe. A bargain was reached whereby Usatcho agreed to train Tendetsa. It was necessary for Tendetsa to pay a high price for this course of training. He gave Usatcho many things, including gifts of food, ornaments, clothing, and other articles of considerable value. The period of training lasted for one month, beginning and ending with the full moon.

The principal function of a wishinu is that of a curing doctor. In order to be able to cure sicknesses he must learn how to gain control of the various spirits which cause different classes of illness. Once in control of these spirits, he likewise has the power to send sickness into people as well as the power of calling it forth, a fact which makes wishinu the most feared and the most respected member of his tribe."

"Sickness is carried on an allegorical blowgun dart called tsensac, which is identified with the thorn, tunchi, of the magical chonta palm. One of these darts exists for each class of illness. This is a widespread belief in northwestern South America. During the process of becoming a wishinu it was necessary that Usatcho give Tendetsa control of each tsensac. The course of instructions took place in the house of the pupil, Tendetsa. Before beginning his instructions, in order to determine his eligibility, he was sent out by Usatcho at night to catch a small type of fish called chumagaie. He was given bait which Usatcho previously rubbed under his armpit and was instructed to throw in the hook with closed eyes, not looking until the fish was caught. He obeyed these instructions and succeeded in catching the fish, which Usatcho then told him to eat. Then Usatcho went into the forest and collected a bunch of leaves called sasango. These, when waved in the air, make a swishing sound and are used for the purpose of calling the spirit desired.

The first day of his initiation Tendetsa fasted, but, with Usatcho, took quantities of piribri (an herb which is chewed and mixed with water, in which form it is taken as a drink which has a narcotic effect). The two men sat facing each other during the entire time. [118] On the second day the same routine was followed excepting that the narcotic mycot was taken instead of piribri. On the third day the drug was changed to ahinhibri. On the fourth day sango (tobacco) is made into a strong liquid infusion which is snuffed up the nose, each blowing the liquid up the nose of the other in large quantities. On the

fifth day natima is taken. During the next 5 days this cycle is repeated, beginning with piribri on the sixth day and ending with natima on the tenth day. During all of this 10-day period no food whatever is taken. On the close of the tenth day the initiate ate two ripe plantains, mashed and mixed with water, and later he ate two green plantains, roasted or boiled.

At the close of the tenth day, before taking the food they blew into the air calling to Pasuca, the spirit of the blowgun dart. After 10 days of taking quantities of drugs without food they were very light-headed, especially the initiate. They sat waving the sasango leaves and blowing, repeating songs to Pasuca until he appeared finally to them in the form of a bold warrior. When Tendetsa saw him he called out to Usatcho, who began to massage his body vigorously. During this operation he became unconscious. When he recovered his body was sore from head to foot and he knew then that the spirit of Pasuca had taken possession of him.

During the next 20 days they ate only a few boiled green plantains each day and drank a little carefully strained nijimanche. During this period they also ate cameron, a small reddish fish. For another month the diet of the last 20 days was followed, excepting that they ate only snails in place of cameron. The green plantains and the nijimanche were taken as before. During the last 20 days of the first month Tendetsa was instructed in the method of controlling the various spirits of disease which are borne by Pasuca."

2: Stirling--120 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 756, 262

"It is interesting to note that when a wishinu has sent a disease spirit into a man he does not have the power to cure this individual, although a cure might be effected by another wishinu.

After the first month of training, during which the new wishinu has learned control of the spirits, he undergoes a strict diet for another month and thereafter a number of foods are taboo to him. He cannot eat deer, armadillo, peccary, wild pigs, tapir, cholo monkey, manatee, peanuts, chonta fruit, and many other animals, birds, fish and vegetables. The reason for this taboo is that all of these possess tsarutama. Should he eat any of these foods their tsarutama would enter him and neutralize or confuse the particular class of tsarutama that he might be attempting to isolate for his particular purpose."

2: Stirling--120-121 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 756, 554

"The wishinu has many duties apart from his function as curing doctor. In fact, while this may be considered the most important of his occupations, it comprises considerably less than half of his duties. When a young man wishes a particular woman to become enamored of him he calls upon the wishinu to prepare a love potion, which requires the mixture of several articles containing the requisite tsarutama and which can be prepared only by the wishinu. He [121] also has control over the great body of nature spirits. He is able, when necessary, to contact Piribri, the rain spirit, in order to produce storms and floods or to stop them as the case may be. In order to call Piribri he blows smoke in the direction of the spirit's dwelling place, using the proper songs, much in the same fashion as he calls upon the disease spirits. Likewise, if he wishes to call on Pangi in order to overturn the canoe of some enemy or to control the river in any way, he can do so. All sudden storms or floods are attributed to the activity of some enemy wishinu. The wishinu is also called upon to determine action in many tribal matters; for example, when a curaka dies the wishinu is called upon to take natima in order that it will be revealed to him who the successor should be. The wishinu also plays an important indirect function in the conduct of warfare. If a man dies in his group, he takes natima and by this means determines which rival wishinu sent the fatal illness. This, of course, applies only to death brought about by the disease spirits and not to deaths from natural causes. Occasionally a Jivaro desires to join some tribal unit other than his own. In this case his eligibility is determined by the wishinu of the new group.

Because of the lack of real political organization among the Jivaros, the wishinu, on account of his ability to control supernatural forces, is the most influential individual of his group. Frequently a wishinu is also a curaka, but this is not typically the case."

4: Up de Graff--244-245 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 756, 787

"Among all the Jívaro tribes the medicine man is omnipotent but short-lived. He lasts as long as his [245] prophecies are not too disastrously wrong. Sooner or later he leads his people (of whom he is virtually chief) into disaster, having made a bad guess, and is sacrificed by those who before followed his every word. Plain proof of the blind credulity of his followers is to be found in the manner of his qualification for his office. Some ambitious old fake with his eye on the coveted post takes a reed-flute (the only instrument except the tom-tom known to the people) and (according to his own story) goes off down the river at dead of night, alone, for many miles, where he seats himself on a sand-bar and plays till the anacondas come out of the water and dance round him. Many times he tries, until at length one morning he walks into the settlement and announces that his great powers have at last prevailed, and he has enticed the serpents to his very feet. And so his authority is born. In times of peace he is the official weather-prophet and astrologer, indicating the proper phase of the moon in which to plant; he is the one and only jambi-chemist; he is the doctor, with a forest full of remedies at his command, and it must be added, in all fairness to him, that he understands the use of ipecacuana, quinine (béllacacara in Inca), and a number of the natural drugs which he extracts from the forest, some known to modern science and some not."

4: Up de Graff--247 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 756, 726

"In times of war, the medicine man accompanies the fighting men (he fights himself, too) to cast spells on the enemy, to foretell victory (invariably), and to render his comrades-in-arms immune from hostile influence. Finally, he alone can make the pots in which the fruits of battle, the heads of the enemy slain, must be treated."

20: Dyott--176
116, 756, 787

(no date) 1926

Jivaro

"Mihanda and We-suma had already returned when we got back. We found them busily engaged cutting up the branches of a certain vine, known as natema (Banisteria caapi) which they had collected in the forest. They were scraping off the rind and placing the chopped-up stalks into a big earthen pot full of water.

It is customary for medicine-men and warriors alike to drink a concoction prepared from this plant prior to any warlike undertaking, or whenever the spirits have to be consulted on matters of importance. It produces strange hallucinations for those who drink it, and while under its influence they are supposed to be visited by the great spirits who advise them who their enemies are and if the time for attacking them is auspicious or otherwise.

The drink was simmering away in its last stages of preparation over the fire when Napi slipped in through the front door. He had already heard about the sudden death of Kun-gupi's brother, and deemed it wise not to linger in the district. There was yet another reason that made it doubly necessary for him to clear off early the next morning--he was a medicine man of considerable skill himself, and as such would certainly have been accused of practising witchcraft.

We watched him give an impromptu exhibition of his art as we sat around the pot of boiling natema."

28: Tessman--356-357 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 775, 756

The soul is called wakaní. At the moment of death the soul leaves the body and goes to heaven, where it leads a better life (has plenty to eat, etc.) in the company of other souls. [357]

The souls of sorcerers enter animals, plants or some natural object, thereby becoming demons. This is at least the belief of the Makas Indians. According to Karsten (The Religion etc., p. 125) this is also believed of the souls of enemies that have been killed, evidently to the extent to which these enemies had been regarded as sorcerers. The souls are then called iguanchi, but at the same time still being regarded as wakaní. From Karsten's treatise I was not able to learn to what extent the thought prevails that the spirits in question are the souls of deceased sorcerers and to what extent these spirits have already a truly demoniac character: demons are always undetermined spirits, perhaps the souls of deceased persons. Wakani, according to Karsten, also means "shadow, image" and finally "higher being."

28: Tessman--357 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 562, 756, 789

In the Aguaruna tribe only men can act as sorcerers. Their magic is monistic. The sorcerer is called ananténtso or tuntsi. They do not believe in a separation of a being from its body. They have only one kind of sorcerer: the sorcerer who kills has at the same time healing faculties.

According to Karsten (The Religion, pp. 319 ff.), in the Chiwaro-Makas tribe an old sorcerer supervises the novice, putting in his mouth the spines of the Guilelma palm mixed with some saliva. It seems, however, that the novice receives the actual magic substance from the demon. This demon, in the shape of a giant snake or in the shape of some other serpentiform monster, appears before the entranced novice. The sorcerer must eat certain animals; others he must avoid--all this on account of certain analogous properties. The demon is said to hand the magic spines to the newly initiated. The derivation of the magic properties of a sorcerer is not quite clear to me. The leading sorcerer is remunerated for his services.

28: Tessman--357-358 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 756, 276, 784

The Aguarunas told me that an apprentice sorcerer will learn the art of magic without the help of a master. He is forced to keep a strict diet. He is not even allowed to eat much manihot. He lives in isolation in a forest hut. His main fare is a decoction [358] of the leaves of the Datura arborea (maikoa) and, later, kaapí (natéma, according to Karsten) and tobacco. At night he sees the apparition of a ghost, who looks like a white man and who hands him the magic substance and the strings.

The sorcerer must go in person into the house of the victim. He comes in daytime as a visitor, behaves in a friendly manner towards the people and even sleeps in their house. At night, he rises stealthily, as if he intended to urinate, and dispatches a spine with some magic substance to his sleeping victim. The spine (tsintsake) is made out of the wood of the Guililma palm. It makes no difference whether the victim is a sorcerer or a non-sorcercer: the victim can be killed, provided he is asleep. If the victim dies, the spines return to their owner.

28: Tessman--358 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 756, 789

What Karsten (The Religion, etc. pp. 318 ff.) has to say concerning the magic of the Chiwaro-Makas Indians is very interesting and very important. Preparations are necessary for this magic. Aside from the personal monistic magic, which I have described there is also a transmission of magic through animals. In this case, the sorcerer has handed over the spine to a certain animal, or as Karsten put it, "the sorcerer has allowed his soul to enter the animal." The expression "soul" evidently refers to the magic substance, part of which was perhaps given to the animal. Other forms of magic are: to shoot the spines (rays) out of the eyes at any time, even in daytime. (Originally, the evil eye idea!) Another form: to put the spines into the food and drink of the victim; to hang the spines in bundles somewhere in the proximity of the enemy, so that the latter would accidentally come in contact with them. Certain preventives are in use. Against the evil eye, for instance, they grind up a medicinal plant and smear it on to the body with Bixa red. Preventive measures are also taken with regard to certain places where spines may easily have been planted. For instance, the roof of old forest huts may be removed and replaced with a new one, so that the spines that may have been hidden in the old palm leaves have no chance to drop down on the sleeping person.

Demons are also able to carry out acts of magic by sending off spines.

Sorcerers, while still living, have the power to transform themselves into jaguars in order to approach other people with magic.

28: Tessman--360 [4] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 756

The medical practitioner is called wuišínŏ (Atschual); he is always a sorcerer.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

This soul-stealing or capturing process

involves drinking large quantities of an infusion of *natem.A* (*Banisteria* sp.), beating a log signal drum, and repeating the name of the intended victim. Then if the enemy's arutam soul is wandering nocturnally, it may one night hear the would-be assassin's call and, "taking pity" on his need for such a soul, enter his body, never to return to the body of its former possessor.[11]

The Jívaro warrior desires to have personally—and thus definitely—stolen the arutam of his intended victim. This feat is often not possible, however, and the would-be murderer instead watches for signs coming to him through gossip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his arutam soul taken away by someone else. Such signs or indications, for example, would include rumors of physical weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the firsthand observation that the enemy was lacking in forcefulness of speech.[12] In any case, an attack is made only if the raiders believe that the potential victim has lost his arutam soul. If they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy still retains the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal security which the Jívaro believe comes from killing has some social reality. A man who has killed repeatedly, called ***kakaram*** or "powerful one," is rarely attacked because his enemies feel that the protection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would make any assassination attempt against him fruitless.

Second arutam souls can be acquired in several ways. One method is to capture the arutam soul of an enemy by beating a log signal drum as previously noted. Another common technique is to walk alone through the forest night after night, without the usual illumination of a copal torch, in the hope of encountering an arutam in the darkness.

Shamans always possess arutam souls. Those specializing in bewitching try to steal their intended victim's arutam soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the intended victim is believed to have two arutam souls, the shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second one for him, since no one can possess more than two such souls simultaneously. A shaman, incidentally, does not lose his arutam soul when he kills by means of sorcery.

The arutam soul must leave a man before he dies, since he cannot die while he retains one (except in the case of contagious disease, in which case retention of the power of two is necessary for certain survival). Thus, at death, he does not have any of the arutam souls left which temporarily dwelt in his body while he was alive. Then, at the moment of death, his *own* arutam souls come into existence for the first time. The exact number of these completely new, freshly "born" souls equals the quantity which the deceased person had acquired during his lifetime. Thus, if he had acquired and subsequently lost five arutam souls, then at the moment of death he forms five new arutam souls. The formation of these souls is said to generate strong winds, thunder, and lightning in the locality. The newly-created arutam souls of the dead man will live eternally, drifting as breezes and temporarily entering into the bodies of

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

on the hunt is, however, viewed as dangerous by the man, it being believed that after intercourse he is particularly susceptible to being bitten by a poisonous snake. Nevertheless, men often engage in sexual activity when they take their wives hunting.

Men also claim that they would rather go hunting than to engage in sexual relations with the possible consequence of pregnancy, since babies interfere with the mobility of their wives to accompany them in hunting. Therefore, men usually state that they are reluctant to engage in sexual intercourse more often than about once every six to eight days. Field observations, of course, were difficult to make on this point, but my impression is that these particular statements were not too inconsistent with their behavior. Men also believe that having more than one wife decreases, rather than increases, the likelihood of reproduction. The reasoning is that a second wife permits a man to spend more time hunting and thus reduces the frequency of his acts of sexual intercourse. The arduous, mountainous travel required in hunting may also, in itself, divert potential sexual energies.

While many young wives seem to prefer the childless situation which makes it easy for them to go hunting with their husbands, an attempt at contraception is usually only made by single lovers. The attempt essentially employs sympathetic magic rather than herbs and only is believed to work if the male partner is a shaman. The girl brings him a raw chicken egg, he blows on it, and she swallows the egg while he holds her head underwater in a stream. This act is specific only to the young man, and is believed to prevent the girl forever from being impregnated by him. No vegetal abortives of any kind are known.

Women often do want children and, if no conception takes

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

554 While the concept of the *untă* ideally encompasses all of
888 the characteristics described, it is possible to acquire the
778 designation with no formal qualifications other than sim-
789 ply having lived long enough to exhibit a few gray hairs
• 756 and to have many grandchildren. Such an achievement receives respect as a sign of supernatural power, and an elderly *untă* of this sort is believed to have the ability to curse to death anyone who incurs his anger. No other kind of person is considered to possess this ability. Partly out of fear of being cursed, young men in the neighborhood assist him in land clearing and other tasks when he requests their aid.
[701] While the elderly *untă*'s opinion is normally respected, he usually is not a real leader unless he is also outstanding as a killer, shaman, or good host. Thus the true "big men" are distinguished not only by longevity but by real leadership and generosity.

Kakaram, *the "Powerful Ones"*

554 Given such factors as the absence of any formal political
756 organization and even of unilineal descent groups, as well
701 as the pervasive belief in shamanistically induced illness and death, the conflict over women, and the emphasis on retaliatory sanctions and feuding, it should not be unexpected that the leaders in Jivaro society are outstanding killers and shamans. Although such leadership is informal, almost all neighborhoods have at least one or two noted killers and a few superior shamans who are valued as protectors of their neighboring relatives, or at least of those with whom they are on friendly terms. Such leadership roles are earned and, in the case of the killers, acquired literally through life-and-death struggle.

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

own self-interest. By the time a *ti kakaram* is achieving such status and power, he tends to be already elderly, and, instead of continuing to lead expeditions himself, will usually send his sons or sons-in-law. 901 628 721

A famous *kakaram* sometimes may even be sent an invitation, through intermediaries, to kill someone in another tribe, usually an Achuara. The invitation sent by the non-Jivaro carries with it the tacit understanding that the *kakaram* and his followers, since they are from another tribe, will conduct themselves in the form of a war raid, rather than the intra-tribal assassination expedition which goes after only a single victim. Thus they are expected to attack the entire household of the intended victim, taking heads and seizing women. The inviter is usually someone with great hatred for his enemy who views the bringing in of outsiders to do the job as an opportunity for retribution beyond anything that he could do directly. He will guide the *kakaram* and his war party to the house of the victim and, after the attack, one of the grateful head-takers will give their guide a shotgun as a token of appreciation. 901 721 [726] [727] [727] [711]

The co-operation provided by such *non-untsuri huri* inviters has sometimes made it possible for the Jivaro to travel incredibly far to kill. In one fondly remembered case, the assistance given by a *tsuwa huri* (Huambisa) inviter-guide made it possible for a Jivaro expedition to pass down the Rio Santiago by canoe through the entire Huambisa tribe and to wipe out most of an Aguaruna household on the Rio Marañon below the Pongo de Manseriche. [484]

Shamans and Shaman Hierarchies

Shamans (*wisalin*), more numerous than outstanding killers, often wield considerable power in the neighborhood. The 756 •

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

• 756 bewitching shamans (*uwumk*, or *yahauli wruitin:* bad shaman) derive their social influence primarily from the fear in which they are held by their neighbors. Their mildly expressed wishes are often interpreted as near commands by laymen. The curing type of shaman (*peyer wruitin:* good shaman) exercises a less ominous type of social power, deriving primarily from the fact that his neighbors tend to view him as an important asset to their welfare. They normally court his favor in order to assure themselves of his future willingness to cure them or members of their family.

[556] In terms of material goods, shamans are invariably the wealthiest persons and usually candidly admit that they supply their services primarily for the purpose of gaining valuables.

[465] They expect to be paid for their curing or bewitching services with the most highly valued goods available. A single treatment normally nets a curing shaman at least a muzzle-loading shotgun, for example. Often a blowgun, a hunting dog, or a machete is thrown in. Curers often refuse to visit a distant patient unless paid in advance, and, even then, may demand additional payment if the cure requires more than a single night's ministrations.

[431] [558] Among the Jivaro, a request for a gift cannot be refused without the denier "losing face," making it difficult for the majority of persons to hoard quantities of possessions. While non-shamans continually badger each other for gifts, thereby preventing the accumulation of wealth by a few individuals among themselves, they almost never ask shamans for goods, fearing the wrath of the bewitchers and wishing to cultivate the goodwill of the curers. Thus shamans are usually the only persons able to accumulate significant quantities of goods.

Shamans frequently utilize their wealth and social influence to secure specific services from their non-shaman neighbors.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Several cases were encountered in which men gave their daughters in marriage to shamans without the customary bride-service, or even the less common bride-price, because the girls' fathers feared the bewitching power of the shamans. It is also standard practice for shamans to be given gifts of chickens, clothing, and ornaments during casual visits to laymen's houses, even though the shamans have not specifically asked for them. Laymen, in contrast, are usually not given presents by fellow non-shamans without asking for them. Shamans are quite conscious of their privileges, and often boasted to me how well they (compared to non-shamans) were fed when visiting neighbors' houses.

Shamans host neighbors to help in land clearing more often than do non-shamans. Such labor is ostensibly reciprocal, but the shaman's neighbors are reluctant to ask him to work for them in turn. This is partly due to their desire to maintain his goodwill, but there also seems to be a feeling that extensive manual labor is not in keeping with the shaman's supernatural preoccupations and services.

A shaman obtains his power to bewitch or cure exclusively through purchase. To become a shaman, a man presents a sizeable gift to an established practitioner. Such a gift must have some real value in native terms. Typically, it consists of one or two muzzle-loading shotguns, gunpowder, shot, primers, a blowgun and curare, and a machete or steel axehead. In return for this payment, the practicing shaman instructs the apprentice in his new profession and supplies him with magical power, in the form of the spirit servants called *tsentsak* (see pp. 154–66). The exchange of shamanistic power for payment in material valuables (*kuit*) makes the two men *amigri* or "friends," as is the case with normal trading partners (see pp. 128–31). However, the relationship between shamans is a hierarchical one signif-

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

icantly different from the essentially egalitarian one between ordinary *amigri*.

The essence of the shaman's power, the *tsentsak*, or magical darts, have an almost infinite variety of forms, and are viewed as invisible spirit helpers which normally reside in the shaman's body. To bewitch, the shaman sends one of these invisible darts into the body of his victim. To cure, he calls upon these spirit aides to suck the intruding magical dart out of the patient's body.

The power of the magical darts is believed to vary according to their type and according to the power of the shaman supplying them. The most powerful, and therefore most valued, supernatural darts are considered to be those belonging to the shamans of the Quichua (Quechua)-speaking Canelos tribe, which extends northward from the Jívaro to the headwaters of the Río Napo. The Canelos tribe has long been in contact with missionaries, and Canelos shamans are distinguished by the Jívaro with a separate term, *paŋü*, derived from *banco*, the Spanish word for the "bank" part of a placer-mining apparatus, which retains the gold-bearing gravels. Canelos shamans call themselves "banks" because they are believed to be similar rich repositories, but of magical power instead of mineral wealth.

The Canelos *paŋü* are said to possess "white man's" *tsentsak*, which the Jívaro and Achuara shamans consider superior to their own traditional *huar*, or Indian, *tsentsak*. By means of "white man's" magical darts, the Canelos shamans are able to perform feats not possible for Jívaro and Achuara shamans. For example, they are the only shamans in the region who are able to become possessed with the souls of the dead and to act as oral mediums. They also, it is believed, can send demons to possess victims and thereby manipulate their behavior. Furthermore, these Canelos sha-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

177
756
776
648

mans are so powerful that it is assumed that they cannot be killed by ordinary means.

The Jívaro and Achuara believe so strongly in the superiority of the Canelos *paŋü* that men wishing to become successful shamans would prefer to obtain their own supernatural darts directly from them. A man cannot expect to become a successful shaman, either in bewitching or curing, unless he has magical darts which exceed in power those of the shamans against whom he is working. Beyond this, he believes that his very survival will depend upon the ability of his own magical darts or spirit helpers to resist the attacks of their counterparts belonging to enemy shamans.

184
484
756
776
[177]
[648]

The intensity of feuding within the Jívaro and Achuara tribes makes long-distance travel to obtain *tsentsak* too dangerous to be undertaken by most men. Generally, only the most northern of the Jívaro and Achuara shamans succeed in visiting the Canelos *paŋü* in order to obtain power. For this reason, the northern Jívaro and Achuara shamans are considered to be more powerful than those to the south.

Since shamanistic power declines in its strength as it is passed southward from shaman to shaman, a southern member of these two tribes who wishes to acquire superior shamanistic power simply does the best he can—which is to travel as far north as safety permits to obtain his magical darts. This is rarely more than forty to fifty miles. If the pilgrim is relatively fortunate, he may be able to get his power from a shaman who has obtained his darts directly from a Canelos bank. But if he lives farther south, he may find he can only obtain the darts from a shaman who got them from a shaman who got them from a shaman who got them from a *paŋü!* Thus, among the Jívaro and the Achuara, there is a regular traffic of shamans making pilgrimages at least slightly northward from their neighborhoods to secure strong supernatural power.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

• 756 776 Upon returning home, a shaman soon barters part of his power, in turn, to men coming to visit him from the south, or he may also dispense it to men of his own neighborhood who are unwilling to undertake even the short trip northward. In any event, the shaman may directly supply power to no more than four men. After that, his power is believed to be so drained off that he must obtain a new supply of magical darts.

756 554 The relationship between the shaman supplying the magical power and the person receiving it is not a relationship between equals. The power-giver is referred to in these tribes as the "higher" shaman, and the recipient as the "lower." The "higher" and "lower" designations refer to actual authority and control exercised by the giver of power over the recipient. The higher shaman, it is believed, can magically take back the power which he has conferred, regardless of the distance separating the two shamans (see pp. 165–66). He may take back this power because of a personal offense, or because he has been bribed to do so by an enemy of the lower shaman. Such occurrences are frequently reported, and there are a number of former shamans who testify that they lost their power in this manner.

[753] A sudden loss of shamanistic power is believed to result in serious illness and often in death. The lower shaman, therefore, tends to fear his higher associate and attempts to [431] keep on good terms with him. With this purpose in mind, he sends tribute in the form of substantial gifts of material [177] valuables (*kuit*) at regular intervals. Such *kuit* includes shotguns, hunting dogs, blowguns, curare, feather headbands (*tawaspā*), and Western-manufactured shirts and trousers. He particularly hopes that these gifts will offset any bribes that may be offered to the higher shaman.

756 776 554 A secondary incentive for sending tribute is the need of the lower shaman to replenish his supply of magical darts

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

every few years. His power, in the form of these spirit servants, is gradually used up through curing, bewitching, or dispensing it. He expects, therefore, to have to replenish his supply by visiting his higher associate. The lower shaman may look forward to help from the higher man only if he has been faithful in the submission of goods.

Tribute between shamans flows from the south, since, of course, the most powerful shamans are in the north. The tribute follows the lines of the shaman hierarchies up into the Canelos tribe. These hierarchies do not converge upon a single Canelos shaman, however, because there are a number of banks of about equal power in the tribe. In other words, this is basically a system of plural and *parallel hierarchies* culminating in the same region, but not in the same individual.

The hierarchical situation is further complicated by the fact that a given shaman frequently obtains magical power from several higher associates. He does this so that his power cannot be completely taken away from him at the whim of a single higher shaman. This tendency seems to prevent the hierarchies from being used as chains of authority. Since a shaman is thus often directly subordinate to several others, considerable intertwining of hierarchical relationships occurs (see Figure 3).

Roughly speaking, about one out of every four adult men is a shaman, so that, in any given locality, the shamans constitute a significant proportion of the male population. A few women are shamans, but among the Jívaro this is basically a man's occupation. The shamans in any particular neighborhood are ordinarily linked together by secret partnerships. These partnerships are also hierarchical in nature, and often a single shaman is the formally recognized leader of all the shamans in a specific neighborhood. These secret

/text continues on p. 124/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

554
• 756
[648]

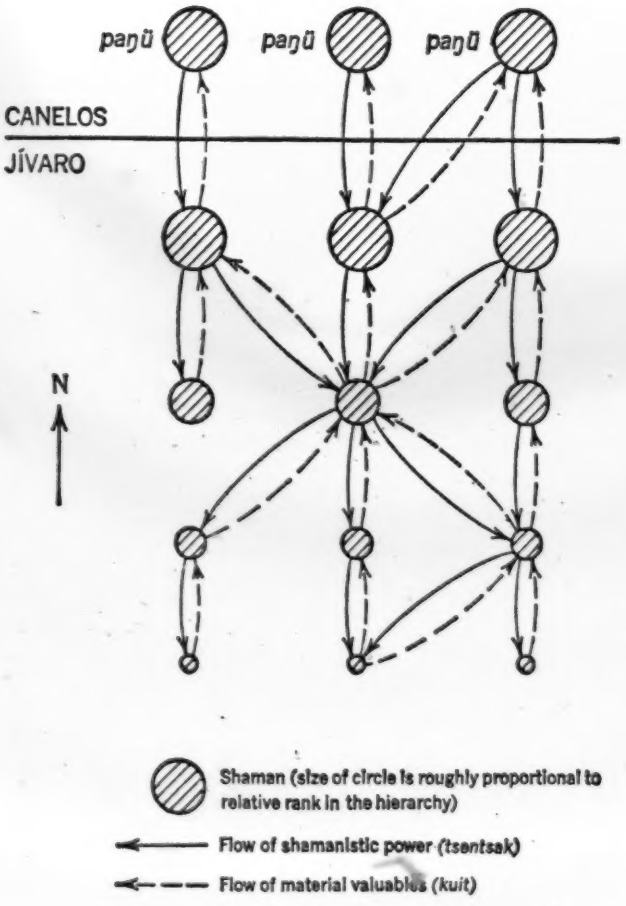

FIGURE 3

Schematic diagram of inter-tribal shamanistic hierarchies

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

partnerships often link together four or five or more shamans in the same neighborhood, the higher partner supplying *tsentsak*, and his lower partners reciprocating with native and Western trade goods (*kuit*). Since bewitchers can create only bewitchers, while curers can create both bewitchers and curers (see pp. 155–56), the local hierarchies tend to have the forms shown in Figure 4.

Ex-shamans have testified that intra-neighborhood shaman partners who are bewitchers sometimes even go to the length of mildly bewitching disliked neighbors so that their curing shaman partners can profit in trade goods from treating the induced illness. The bewitching partner expects his curing shaman associate, in turn, never to tell a layman that the former was responsible for an illness or death. The curing shaman may even give his bewitching partner an occasional gift from his accumulated store of wealth, thus reversing the usual flow of *kuit* (see Figure 4, B). More frequently,

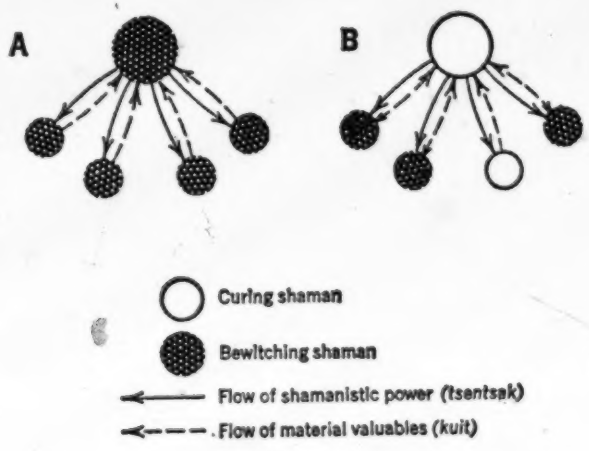

FIGURE 4
Schematic diagram of local shamanistic hierarchies

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

754 the curing shaman covertly reciprocates by later supplying
• 756 his bewitching partner with a new supply of supernatural power in exchange for only a minor payment, instead of the normally major gift of a shotgun.

754 A local bewitching shaman hierarchy also sometimes acts
628 in concert as a "raiding party" to go together to kill, through witchcraft, a common enemy in another neighborhood. Using the method indicated elsewhere (see pp. 157–58), they secretly shoot their *tsentsak* from hiding near the house of their intended victim and then return home. Frequently, they remain together a few days in the house of their higher partner to await word that the enemy has become ill. Informants claimed that such concerted action "always" resulted in the intended victim immediately becoming ill.

Trading Partners

441 With conflict and violence common, and lacking any cor-
571 porate kinship groups to provide security, the Jívaro create
572 social bonds by making "friends" (*amigri*) in a formalized manner through the exchange of trade goods. Such *amigri* pairs, or trading partnerships, constitute the strongest male social units within the same generation. These partners become mutually obligated to one another to a degree exceed-
[593] ing the obligations of brothers. In fact, it is not unusual for brothers, or even fathers and sons, to become "friends" in order to formalize their sense of mutual obligation to one another. While trading partners commonly live in different neighborhoods, many *amigri* dwell in the same neighborhood, and sometimes even in the same house. Households within the same neighborhood, linked by such formalized bonds,

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

ural plane. Finally, entrance into the normally invisible realm is considered so essential to success that the two kinds of leaders in Jívaro society, the outstanding killers (*kakaram*) and shamans, are the two types of persons for whom hallucinogenic drugs tend to have the most important role. Their achievements are believed by the Jívaro to be directly connected to their ability to enter, and utilize the souls and spirits of, that "real" world.

Three kinds of souls are recognized. Of these, the *arutam wakanī* is believed by the Jívaro to be the most significant. This is an acquired soul, and a man may possess as many as two *arutam* souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *muisak*, or avenging soul, while the third is the *nekás wakanī*, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

The Arutam *Soul*[1]

Arutam wakanī is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient specter" soul. The term *arutam* alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. *Wakanī* alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus the *arutam wakanī* is the particular kind of soul that produces the *arutam*, or vision. An *arutam* appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The *arutam* soul, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the *arutam* soul that the Jívaro seek security from the ever felt menace of death.

The Jívaro believe that the possessor of a single *arutam* soul cannot be killed by any form of physical violence, poison, or by sorcery, although he is not immune to death from contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox. In other words, a person who has only one *arutam* soul in his posses-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

22. Shaman boiling *Banisteriopsis* vines and leaves to prepare the hallucinogenic drink *natemä* (Río Tutanangoza, 1964). /p. 138-G/

756 •
276
291
354
415
824

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

definitely—stolen the *arutam* soul of his intended victim. This feat is often not possible, however, and the would-be murderer instead watches for signs coming to him through gossip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his *arutam* soul taken away by someone else. Such signs or indications, for example, would include rumors of physical weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the first-hand observation that the enemy was lacking in forcefulness of speech.[8] In any case, an attack is made only if the raiders believe that the potential victim has lost his *arutam* soul. If they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy still retains the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal security which the Jívaro believe comes from killing has some social reality. A man who has killed repeatedly, called a *kakaram*, or "powerful one," is rarely attacked, because his enemies feel that the protection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would make any assassination attempt against him fruitless.

Second *arutam* souls can be acquired in several ways. One method is to capture the *arutam* soul of an enemy by beating a log signal drum as previously noted. Another common technique is to walk alone through the forest night after night, without the usual illumination of a copal torch, in the hope of encountering an *arutam* in the darkness. *Arutam* may also be encountered by making a small clearing on a forest mountain top, building a lean-to, and drinking *Datura* there.

Shamans always possess *arutam* souls. Those specializing in betwitching try to steal their intended victim's *arutam* soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the intended victim is thought to have two *arutam* souls, the shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second one for him, since no one can possess more than two such souls simultaneously. It is believed that shamans, under the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

774 754 756 influence of *natemä*, can sometimes see a person's *arutam* soul in his chest, where it appears as an inverted rainbow. A shaman, incidentally, does not lose his *arutam* soul when he kills by means of sorcery.

774 761 [763] The *arutam* soul must leave a man before he dies, since he cannot die while he retains one (except in the case of contagious disease, in which case retention of the power of two is necessary for certain survival). Thus, at death, he does not have any of the *arutam* souls left which temporarily dwelt in his body while he was alive. Then, at the moment of death, his *own arutam* souls come into existence for the first time. The exact number of these completely new, freshly "born" souls equals the quantity which the deceased person had acquired during his lifetime. Thus, if he had acquired and subsequently lost five *arutam* souls, then at the moment of death he forms five new ones. The formation [821] of these souls is said to generate strong winds, thunder, and lightning in the locality. The newly created *arutam* souls of the dead men will live eternally, drifting as breezes and temporarily entering into the bodies of future generations of Jívaro. At the same moment that these *arutam* souls are "born," the second type of Jívaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

The Muisak[9]

774 784 The second kind of soul, the *muisak*, or avenging soul, is closely connected with the *arutam* soul. Only a person who has had an *arutam* soul is capable of forming a *muisak*. Furthermore, a *muisak* comes into existence only when a person who has seen an *arutam* is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. When such a person is murdered, his aveng-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

such as whooping cough, measles, colds, and some mild diarrheas. The normal waking life, as noted before, is simply "a lie," or illusion, while the true forces that determine daily events are supernatural and can only be seen and manipulated with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs. A reality view of this kind creates a demand for shamans, part-time specialists who can cross over into the "real" world at will to help others to deal with the forces that influence and even determine the events of the waking life.

Jívaro shamans (*uwišin*) are of two types: bewitchers and curers. Both kinds take a hallucinogenic drink, whose Jívaro name is *natemä*, in order to enter the supernatural world. This brew, commonly called *yagé* or *yajé* in Colombia, *ayahuasca* (Inca: "vine of the dead") in Ecuador and Peru, and *caapi* in Brazil is prepared from segments of a species of the vine *Banisteriopsis*, a genus belonging to the Malpighiaceae. The Jívaro boil it with the leaves of a similar vine, *yahi*, which probably is also a species of *Banisteriopsis*, to produce the cooled *natemä* tea that contains the powerful hallucinogenic alkaloids harmaline, harmine, d-tetrahydroharmine, and quite possibly N,N-dimethyltryptamine (DMT) (see Plate 22).[18] These compounds have chemical structures and effects similar, but not identical to, LSD, mescaline of the peyote cactus, and psilocybin of the psychotropic Mexican mushroom.

Shamans prefer to use *natemä* rather than *maikua* (*Datura arborea*) for going into trances, because the potency of the latter is too great for the shaman to be able to function ritually in singing, sucking, and the accompanying social interaction. Also, since the shaman must go into trances with frequency, he does not like to use *Datura* for that purpose because the strength of the plant is such that its repeated use is believed to lead to insanity. As an illustration of this

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

danger, one informant said, "My father told me that a long time ago a man took *maikua* all the time. As a result, he lost his mind and would go walking in the forest to speak with the spirits." For these reasons, the shaman tends to use the less strong *Banisteriopsis* drink *natemä*. In *arutam* seeking, however, a person in a trance does not need to perform ritual or interact with others, and therefore *Datura*, precisely because of its strength to produce visions, is the drug of choice.

The use of the hallucinogenic *natemä* drink among the Jívaro makes it possible for almost anyone to achieve the trance state essential for the practice of shamanism. Given the presence of the drug and the felt need to contact the "real," or supernatural, world, it is not surprising that approximately one out of every four Jívaro men is a shaman. Any adult, male or female, who desires to become such a practitioner, simply presents a gift to an already practicing shaman, who administers the *Banisteriopsis* drink and gives some of his own supernatural power—in the form of spirit helpers, or *tsentsak*—to the apprentice. These spirit helpers, or "darts," are the main supernatural forces believed to cause illness and death in daily life. To the non-shaman they are normally invisible, and even shamans can perceive them only under the influence of *natemä*.

The origin of knowledge about the use of *tsentsak* is attributed to Tsuŋi, the mythological first shaman who is believed still to be alive today living underwater in a house whose walls are formed, like palm staves, by upright anacondas, and where he sits, using a turtle as a stool. He is described as a white-skinned man with long hair, but he also seems capable of transforming himself into the anaconda. From time to time he is reputed to supply particular shamans with special quartz crystal *tsentsak* (*namurä*) which are

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

776 756 778 823 particularly deadly, and, on rare occasions to kill shamans with whom he is angry. No shaman is believed capable of defending himself from the *tsentsak* of Tsuŋi.

757 Laymen are not able to cure or bewitch, because they do not have these magical darts in their control. Laymen can treat the "white man's diseases," previously mentioned, with herb remedies, but such treatment of illness is little developed in the society. Shamans never use herb remedies.

754 776 756 Shamans send these spirit helpers into the victims' bodies to make them ill or to kill them. At other times, they may suck such spirits sent by enemy shamans from the bodies of tribesmen suffering from witchcraft-induced illness. The spirit helpers also form shields that protect their shaman masters from attacks. The following account presents the ideology of Jívaro shamanism from the point of view of the shamans themselves.

756 778 776 276 To give the novice some *tsentsak*, the practicing shaman regurgitates what appears to be—to those who have taken *natemä*—a brilliant substance in which the spirit helpers are contained. He cuts part of it off with a machete and gives it to the novice to swallow. The recipient experiences pain upon taking it into his stomach and stays on his bed for ten days, repeatedly drinking *natemä*. The Jívaro believe they can keep magical darts in their stomachs indefinitely and regurgitate them at will. The shaman donating the *tsentsak* periodically blows and rubs all over the body of the novice, apparently to increase the power of the transfer.

[834] The novice must remain inactive and not engage in sexual intercourse for several months. If he fails in self-discipline, as some do, he will not become a successful shaman. At the end of the first month, a *tsentsak* emerges from his mouth.

754 756 778 With this magical dart at his disposal, the new shaman experiences a tremendous desire to bewitch. If he casts his *tsentsak*

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

to fulfill this desire, this means he will become a "bewitching" shaman (*wawek*, or *yahaučī uwišin*). If, on the other hand, the novice can control his impulse and reswallow this first *tsentsak*, he will become a curing shaman (*peŋer uwišin*). This will only be possible if the shaman who gave him his *tsentsak* is a curer himself.

If the shaman who gave the *tsentsak* to the new man was primarily a bewitcher, rather than a curer, the novice likewise will become a bewitcher. This is because a bewitcher's magical darts have such a desire to kill that their new owner will be compelled to adopt their attitude. One informant said that the urge to kill felt by bewitching shamans came to them with a strength and frequency similar to that of hunger.

Only if the novice shaman is able to abstain from sexual intercourse for five months, will he have the power to kill a man (if he is a bewitcher) or cure a victim (if he is a curer). A full year's abstinence is considered necessary to become a really effective bewitcher or curer.

During the period of sexual abstinence, the new shaman collects all kinds of insects, plants, and other objects, which he now has the power to convert into *tsentsak*. Almost any object, including living insects and worms, can become a *tsentsak* if it is small enough to be swallowed by a shaman. Certain small spiders become *tunčī*, a special kind of *tsentsak*. Different types of *tsentsak* are used to cause different kinds and degrees of illness, and the greater the variety of these objects that a shaman has in his body, the greater is his ability.

According to Jívaro concepts, each *tsentsak* has a natural and a supernatural aspect. The magical dart's natural aspect is that of an ordinary material object as seen without drinking the drug *natemä*. But the supernatural and "true" aspect of

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

The curing shaman, under the influence of *natemä*, sees the *pasuk* of the bewitcher in human form and size, but "covered with iron except for its eyes." The curing shaman can kill this *pasuk* only by shooting a *tsentsak* into its eyes, the sole vunerable area in the *pasuk*'s armor. To the person who has not taken the hallucinogenic drink, the *pasuk* usually appears to be simply a tarantula.

Shamans may also kill or injure a person by using magical darts, *anamuk*, to create supernatural animals that attack a victim. If a shaman has a small, pointed armadillo bone *tsentsak*, he can shoot this into a river while the victim is crossing it on a balsa raft or in a canoe. Under the water, this bone manifests itself in its supernatural aspect as an anaconda, which rises up and overturns the craft, causing the victim to drown. The shaman can similarly use a tooth from a killed snake as a *tsentsak*, creating a poisonous serpent to bite his victim. In more or less the same manner, shamans can create jaguars and pumas to kill their victims.

About five years after receiving his *tsentsak*, a bewitching shaman undergoes a test to see if he still retains enough *tsentsak* power to continue to kill successfully. This test involves bewitching a tree. The shaman, under the influence of *natemä*, attempts to throw a *tsentsak* through the tree at the point where its two main branches join. If his strength and aim are adequate, the tree appears to split the moment the *tsentsak* is sent into it. The splitting, however, is invisible to an observer who is not under the influence of the hallucinogen. If the shaman fails, he knows that he is incapable of killing a human victim. This means that, as soon as possible, he must go to a strong shaman and purchase a new supply of *tsentsak*. Until he has the goods with which to pay for this new supply, he is in constant danger, in his proved

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

darts. A shaman does not even dare go for a walk without taking along the green tobacco leaves with which he prepares the juice that keeps his spirit helpers alert. Less frequently, but regularly, he must drink *natemă* for the same purpose and to keep in touch with the supernatural reality.

While curing under the influence of *natemă*, the curing shaman "sees" the shaman who bewitched his patient. Generally, he can recognize the person, unless it is a shaman who lives far away or in another tribe. The patient's family knows this, and demands to be told the identity of the bewitcher, particularly if the sick person dies. At one curing session I attended, the shaman could not identify the person he had seen in his vision. The brother of the dead man then accused the shaman himself of being responsible. Under such pressure, there is a strong tendency for the curing shaman to attribute each case to a particular bewitcher.

Shamans gradually become weak and must purchase *tsentsak* again and again. Curers tend to become weak in power especially after curing a patient bewitched by a shaman who has recently received a new supply of magical darts. Thus the most powerful shamans are those who can repeatedly purchase new supplies of *tsentsak* from other shamans, particularly *paṇti* (see pp. 119–20).

Shamans can take back *tsentsak* from others to whom they have previously given them. To accomplish this, the shaman drinks *natemă*, and, using his *tsentsak*, creates a "bridge" in the form of a rainbow between himself and the other shaman. Then he shoots a *tsentsak* along this rainbow. This strikes the ground beside the other shaman with an explosion and flash likened to a lightning bolt. The purpose of this is to surprise the other shaman so that he temporarily forgets to maintain his guard over his magical darts, thus permitting the first shaman to suck them back along the rain-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

bow. A shaman who has had his *tsentsak* taken away in this manner will discover that "nothing happens" when he drinks *natema*. The sudden loss of his *tsentsak* will tend to make him ill, but ordinarily the illness is not fatal unless a bewitcher shoots a magical dart into him while he is in this weakened condition. If he has not become disillusioned by his experience, he can again purchase *tsentsak* from some other shaman and resume his calling.

Death

A death is announced to the neighborhood by beating the log signal drum, if the house has one, in the same rhythm used to send the alarm when a house is attacked. Little ambiguity usually is involved since the neighbors tend to know whether anyone in the signaling household has been seriously ill. All corpses are buried inside of the house instead of out of doors so as to "keep the dead one protected from the cold rain." Except when the house owner dies, the family continues to live in the dwelling, the rationale being expressed thus by an informant: "When they were alive, we did not fear them. Therefore we should not fear them when they are dead, although we do a little." After the house is later abandoned in the normal course of events, family members will return when the roof seriously disintegrates to build a small palm thatch over the grave.

If an infant or small child dies, the body is put into a large beer-brewing jar or cooking pot in an upright sitting position. An inverted cooking pot is placed on top to act as a cover, and the two vessels are sealed together with clay. The urn is buried in the center of the house with some chonta palm staves

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

682 women of different households are continually circulating among the guests serving manioc beer. The poisoner, under 562 such circumstances, is very difficult to detect. The family of 278 the victim, however, invariably accepts the opinion of the [727] dying victim as to the identity of the guilty party, and her brother is marked for death.

682 A curing shaman who has attempted unsuccessfully to cure 156 a fatal case of sorcery is expected to tell the deceased's survivors the identity of the bewitching shaman. Sometimes the shaman does so, but at least as often he simply says that the fatal magical dart came from a shaman "far away" whom he cannot recognize. In this way, informants say, the shaman avoids the reprisals which might result against himself if he were to name a specific Jivaro as the guilty party.

682 It is not believed proper to assassinate personally a brother 593 or trading partner in retaliation even for the murder of one's 441 wife or child, although cases do occur. The more common approach to administering the punishment is for the aggrieved party to plan and organize the avenging raid without actually participating. In such a situation, a non-related or [701] distantly related *kukarma* may be invited to come and carry out the assassination.

754 Murder by witchcraft requires the sanction of homicide by 683 physical violence, but most non-fatal illnesses ascribed to [682] witchcraft do not usually evoke retaliation. One reason is [756] that normally a curing shaman does not reveal the identity of the bewitcher except in fatal cases. When retaliation is desired for non-fatal witchcraft illnesses, the recovered patient hires a bewitching shaman to bewitch the original bewitcher.

684 Sexual offenses, with the exception of wife-stealing, normally do not involve the sanction of homicide. The punishment varies in specific instances, but most commonly consists of slashing the forehead and scalp of the offender with a ma-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 partnership pattern in recent decades has also been associated
571 with the more common use of the "friend" term of address (*awich*) between people in general, in preference to kinship terms. The "friend" term is now used increasingly: (1) to [601] remind neighbors and relatives subtly of some earlier obliga- [592] tion; and (2) to indicate a friendly feeling for the person [576] addressed beyond the necessities of kinship obligations.

The only discernible changes in kinship formal structure 178 have occurred in the adoption, increase, or decrease in use of 601 a few specific terms of address by men and the adoption of 576 a men's term of reference (*awe*) by women. A few Achuara terms of address have been introduced through the inter-tribal trading partnerships. These are indicated on Table 1, which shows also the elementary kinship terms of reference and the terms of address.

178 One of the clearest socio-economic trends has been the
754 tendency for ever greater numbers of persons, especially
• 756 men, to become shamans, as well as trading partners, during the past few decades. Informants uniformly ascribe this trend
181 to the desire of individuals to acquire "white men's valuables,"
556 especially machetes and firearms, and to distribute these [571] goods in order to win friendship. The considerable growth of [572] socio-economic power wielded by shamans in their neighbor- hoods is also a recent development involving: (1) an increase in their proportionate numbers in the population; (2) a growth in the demand for their services; and (3) an increase in their accumulated material valuables, with the resulting development of some individual differentiation in terms of [431] wealth in trade goods. This development has been facilitated by the fact that the shamans can successfully accumulate goods because of the laymen's fear of asking them for gifts. [753] The rise in numbers of shamans is also believed to have increased the amount of illness and death due to witchcraft.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Shaman hierarchies within the neighborhood are also an important new development. This innovation, which is related to the growth in numbers of shamans competing to acquire valuables and strong shamanistic power, occurred between about 1925 and 1935. Formerly, only one shaman normally was found in each neighborhood, but with the increase in their numbers, they began to purchase their power from other shamans within their own localities, thereby bringing into existence hierarchies of shaman partners on the neighborhood level.

The inter-neighborhood hierarchies of shamans linking the Jívaro with the Canelos are likewise a new development, evolving since about 1930. According to older informants, shamanistic power formerly was not obtained from the Canelos tribe, but with the inhibition of inter-tribal warfare, Jívaro shamans began to visit the Canelos shamans, leading to the elaborate hierarchical relations which now stretch northward to the Canelos "banks." The increasing competition between Jívaro shamans, deriving from their sheer numbers and their demand for trade goods, further encouraged them to travel northward to get the maximum quality and variety of *tsentsak* available.

Shamanistic knowledge and practices have experienced considerable elaboration in recent decades. Much of this more elaborate knowledge has been learned from the Canelos tribe via the inter-tribal system of shaman hierarchies. Examples of such recently transmitted information include new types of spirit helpers and the innovation of possession by spirits of the dead. The heightened shamanistic competition has encouraged the acquisition of new techniques and knowledge.

Outside of shamanism, few changes have occurred in supernatural ideology. Some minor modifications have oc-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

curred in the case of techniques used to obtain *arutam* souls. First, a former method of encountering *arutam* has virtually disappeared. It involved walking a specially prepared straight and wide trail alone at night armed only with a wooden shield and magical staff. The disappearance of this technique is ascribed to the abandonment of wooden shields as a functional item of warfare following the adoption of firearms. Second, *Banisteriopsis*, as opposed to *Datura*, has become less commonly used to see *arutam*, a change attributed to the fact that the increasingly numerous shamans have been using up the available supply of *Banisteriopsis*. Furthermore, because of the shortage of *Banisteriopsis*, families tend to reserve the known vines (wild or cultivated) for use by shamans when they come to cure family members believed to be suffering from bewitching.

A very few individuals among the interior Jívaro are beginning to consider the possibility that the "true" or "ordinary" souls (*nekás wakani*) may go to the interior of the active volcano Sangay at a person's death, a belief transmitted from the frontier Jívaro, who learned the idea from Catholic missionaries. The latter use the volcano's name in Jívaro, Tuŋurá, as a synonym for Hell. This was one of the few ideological items among the interior Jívaro clearly ascribable to Western cultural influence.

A strong rise in interpersonal offenses and the application of retaliatory sanctions is reported for the past four or five decades. The increase is particularly strong in the cases of adultery and murder by means of witchcraft, physical violence, and poisoning. The increase in shamanistically induced murders is primarily attributed to the growth in numbers of shamans attempting to accumulate wealth in the form of "white man's valuables." The rise in murders or assassinations through shooting or poisoning is seen by the Jívaro